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BUSINESS DAY, Wednesday, March 11 1992

# Buthelezi threatens action over Codesa

ULUNDI — KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has threatened action if King Goodwill Zwelithini is excluded from Codesa.

Speaking at the opening of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, Buthelezi threatened to mobilise the Zulu nation against its exclusion from Codesa.

"We will not honour any agreement reached in Codesa about the future which in any way involves KwaZulu while we are not part of the deliberations which led to the agreements.

"I... will have nothing to do with implementing Codesa decisions which are reached while we are not present to make our own contribution to debates and emerging decisions."

Buthelezi said the exclusion from Codesa was connected to collusion between the government and the ANC.

"What were we supposed to think when we see great enthusiasm being displayed in the banning of the carrying of Zulu accoutrements, but the same enthusiasm is not shown in the dismantling or banning Umkhonto we Sizwe," he said.

He added he would go to the "very heart of Afrikanerdom" to campaign for the right of the Zulus to be recognised.

Negotiations had to be representative

enough to make negotiators' decisions binding on people.

Buthelezi said he was not threatening armed struggle or revolutionary violence against any government established without Zulu participation.

"I will not be party to a failed constitution and a failed democracy."

In the past all the ills of the people were laid at the door of apartheid but in the future government and the people in it would be blamed for failure, he said.

Groundwork would now be laid for support to reject a government which was not brought into being by a truly representative body.

A government which was not one of national unity would be rejected.

Buthelezi said he would keep his options open about with whom he would ally himself. He would also keep his options open about whom to mobilise and how.

"But I will not bow to a rejection of KwaZulu and a rejection of His Majesty and become party to a government of our country which is doomed to fail.

"I am saying that we must put right now that which is wrong in Codesa."

The legislative assembly would look at available regional options and "if we are not tolerated inside Codesa" would pursue them outside the talks, he said.— Sapa.



## ANC to tone down campaign

# Pact averts Codesa crisis over Ciskei

CODESA was saved from possible suspension yesterday after the ANC, government and Ciskei leaders resolved to allow free political expression in Ciskei, while the ANC undertook to tone down its anti-Ciskei government campaign.

The crisis was sparked after the Ciskei government called for Codesa's suspension until the ANC called off its campaign.

Ciskei's military leader Brig Oupa Gqozo, who was supported at Codesa by several other groups, claimed the campaign was aimed at overturning his government, although this was subsequently denied by ANC leaders.

In a statement after the meeting in Pretoria, the parties agreed to abide by their undertakings in terms of the national peace accord and the Codesa declaration of intent.

The parties, led by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and Gqozo, agreed that meetings would take place between the ANC and the Ciskei government to discuss a range of issues. These would include co-operation within the Border region to promote peace, freedom of political expression and the headman system — a form of local government introduced by Gqozo.

The Ciskei government undertook to review Section 43 of its National Security

TIM COHEN

Act, which restricts political gatherings, to bring it into line with Section 46 of the SA Internal Security Act and provisions of the peace accord. This would allow all parties to hold peaceful public meetings and marches in the region, the statement said.

For its part the ANC agreed to review its campaign, while government identified itself with the conclusions of the meeting. Ramaphosa described the outcome of the discussions as a "victory for all".

ANC NEC member Thabo Mbeki said it had not yet been decided exactly which aspects of the ANC's Ciskei campaign would be reviewed, as this required discussions with members of the ANC's Border region. Mbeki said the discussions would result in the Ciskei government withdrawing its call for a suspension of Codesa, and encouraging parties that supported the call to do the same.

Meanwhile, Codesa management committee member Pravin Gordhan said yesterday discussions on suggested amendments to the Codesa declaration of intent had made "very encouraging progress" and were all but completed.

His comment confirms the views of Codesa delegates that discussions had resulted in a resolution to attach an explanatory

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## De Beers

80% to R297m from R166m because of the rand's depreciation against the dollar and lower capital spending. Centenary's fell 17% to \$727m from \$880m because of the Gulf war and market recession.

At a news conference yesterday, chairman Julian Ogilvie Thompson said that against the background of world recession it was encouraging that CSO sales of rough diamonds had held up relatively well, while overall retail sales of diamond jewellery in 1991 matched sales of the previous year in dollar terms. It was also encouraging that "the combined profits of De Beers/Centenary have held up as well as they have".

Ogilvie Thompson said that although rough diamond sales at the first sights in 1992 were lower than in 1991, demand for diamonds would increase if the OECD economies turned round in the second half of the year, as many expected. Provided there was renewed economic growth, the CSO would be able to tailor market offtake to supply, while supporting prices by buy-

□ From Page 1

ing diamonds on the open market.

The diamond pipeline was in a healthy condition, with stocks at all stages of the pipeline at manageable levels. De Beers diamond stocks rose to \$3bn from \$2,7bn in 1990, diamond cutting centres were in a strong financial position, and retail stocks "were not believed to be high".

Ogilvie Thompson said Centenary's relationship with Russia's Rossalmazoloto — the successor to the Soviet Union's Glavalmazoloto — was good. Repayments regarding Centenary's \$5bn loan to Rossalmazoloto had been made on time.

He said De Beers was not involved in diamond prospecting in Russia.

While many analysts accurately forecast the group's total dividend, the sharp fall in earnings took them by surprise. De Beers' results were announced before the JSE closed yesterday and the shares fell nearly a rand on the news, but still finished 75c higher on the day at R89,75. That compares with R73,25 on the day the group released its 1990 results.



# Making sense of land redistribution

THE DAILY NEWS 11.3.92

**S**OME land redistribution schemes recently suggested for South Africa by non-experts could cause chaos just as they did in other countries, says DP parliamentary candidate Mr Donald Urquhart.

People from mainly legal and social science backgrounds have spoken in the past about land redistribution but, he says, it is now urgent for agricultural economists, and crop, pasture and animal scientists to plan and articulate ways ahead.

About 13 percent of South Africa is in black hands, effectively nationalised with title in the name of the Development Trust or homeland governments.

The principles of justice and equality underlying a legitimate land law were clearly violated in the past and call for some form of redress, but the problem is how far back to go and who should the beneficiaries be, Mr Urquhart said.

## Expropriations

German experience may be helpful, he suggested. After German unification it was decided that East German expropriations between 1945 and 1949 were left intact with compensation decided upon by the German governments.

Land owners expropriated after 1949 could elect to receive financial compensation or have the expropriation reversed. Thus relatively arbitrary cut-off dates were established.

South Africa could do likewise, for example targeting victims of forced removals, yet only going back as far as financial resources will allow.

The usual reason for the nationalisation of land is to achieve self-determination, to gain sovereignty over "the people's" assets which philosophically is the PAC and CP stance, albeit from different perspectives, Mr Urquhart said.

The second reason is ideological and a third the prospect of plunder, euphemistically described as wealth redistribution.

It is difficult to take a call for nationalisation seriously after events in Eastern Europe where governments are trying to privatise economic life and land relations to save their economies.

In the Soviet Union all was a mess and in 1989 the right of leasehold was reformed. In 1990 a new land act was enacted providing for an individual to obtain a right to the use and possession of lands-effective ownership.

Newcastle farmer, agricultural economist, former Rhodes scholar and Democratic Party Parliamentary candidate Donald Urquhart, speaking at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, recently, presented his suggestions on ways to provide living space for South Africa's burgeoning population — without jeopardising food and fibre production. **BOB FREAN** reports.

Agricultural units were also freed to employ labourers, a practice previously disallowed. The conclusion is that people want to own their land.

Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania are following and in Yugoslavia 86 percent of all agricultural land is exploited by private farmers, he said.

Land reforms such as "Return the Land to the Tiller", in which the State acts as facilitator or referee, maintains private ownership with an exchange of owners taking place.

This approach is often favoured as a means of rapidly addressing the inequities of the past, increasing employment, decreasing poverty and redistributing income.

Such examples have been in Taiwan, Japan, Kenya and Chile and seem imminent in Zimbabwe.

Some have been judged to be successful in that output has not fallen and poverty among rural people has been reduced.

But the golden rule in these success stories is that the land is high potential land suited to intensive agriculture in which small areas can sustain a family, such as paddy fields in Taiwan and Japan, irrigation plots in Iran and Chile and fertile lands in the Kenya highlands.

In contrast, in South Africa it is mostly barren highveld, Karoo and bushveld in which water is often more important than land that is being considered for redistribution. Small holdings in these areas could not sustain a family.

## Canegrowers

The Development Bank recently estimated that about 4.5-million hectares would become available for smallholders if endemically indebted white agriculture were sequestered, Mr Urquhart said.

The underlying assumption is that smallholders, with fewer material demands than the current owners, will successfully operate that land.

Mr Urquhart however believes that smallholders would be unlikely to succeed without sustained and

ongoing support relatively greater than the support the existing operations have had. Quite simply, there is not enough money, apart from selected specific programmes such as that of the small canegrowers.

Otherwise, extension of such efforts to large parts of South African agriculture would result in chaos.

One of the sadnesses of South African agriculture has been the lack of investment in human capital. Entrepreneurial skills and organisational ability, contrary to

popular opinion, are essential for agricultural enterprise. Most South Africans are land hungry, but not to the extent that they want to earn their living from the soil or veld.

It is more a desire for security which transcends the divisions of the past and that sense is positive.

Security is the cornerstone around which a stable land system could be constructed.

Security, or lack of it, is the key weakness in customary land tenure. The powers of dispossession vested in chiefs, lack of security for mortgage financing, lack of land survey and registration, all militate against the concept of security as implied in common law land tenure. Yet paradoxically to scrap customary law tenure would be to remove from the poorest people on the land their sense of security, for they would be unable to compete against capitalised interests intent on acquiring their land.

Recent property law innovations have been concentrated on the upper end of the market in the form of sectional title and time-sharing. Perhaps with some creative legal thinking the security needs may be provided cost effectively in the area where customary law prevails, without foregoing the benefits of it.

## Unemployable

Such a development would be useful in existing squatter settlements.

Mr Urquhart proposed a three-pronged approach to land problems, bearing in mind the lack of skills, racially-skewed land distribution and the nation's food and fibre needs:

■ That enough land is acquired for urban settlement around the major metropolitan areas to make an impact on the urbanisation process and concomitant squatting problem. A fair price must be paid for expropriated land.

■ At the same time there should be a similar rural one of smallholder settlement in selected areas



# MAKING SENSE OF Land

Redistribution

FR: Pg 1

or around selected markets, where possible using existing State land or community-owned land.

■ A method of retaining the skills of present farmers who are financially embattled. "I believe there are elements within the 60 000 white farmers and their 1,3-million employees who could turn problems into opportunities.

About 10 percent of the farmers are endemically in debt and together with their employees face an uncertain future. They are unemployable outside agriculture, given the usual skills and age profile.

The sequestration of these farmers adds to the weakening of the general infrastructure and community life of the platteland.

In the sequestration process, invariably the creditors take a knock, Mr Urquhart said.



Chief raps Treurnicht, backs 'yes' vote

# Buthelezi deals CP deadly blow

SATURDAY STAR 11-03-92

SHAUN JOHNSON  
and  
ESTHER WAUGH

THE Conservative Party's referendum hopes have been dealt a severe blow by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's clear rejection of the party's policy and his reiteration of support for a "yes" vote.

The CP moved yesterday to limit the damage done by the Inkatha Freedom Party leader's decision to release a confidential memorandum of his discussions with CP leaders in Ulundi last weekend.

The memorandum reveals that Buthelezi rebuked CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht for "being somewhat too prone to see agreement between us on some issues we discussed in Durban on January 6".

## Pact

Reinforcing his move away from the right wing, Buthelezi yesterday also sharply slapped down senior IFP central committee member Musa Myeni for reaching an extraordinary "non-aggression" pact with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

The pact was signed yesterday in Johannesburg between Myeni and AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche.

IFP central committee member Walter Felgate told Saturday Star after speaking to

## What the party men won't tell you

FOR the past two weeks South Africa has been bombarded by information, misinformation, propaganda and straight lies by organisations trying to influence next week's referendum.

To help try to resolve some of the confusion that has resulted, the Saturday Star has attempted to define some of the main questions uppermost in people's minds, and Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN has tried to answer them.

directed against the State.  
"Now you can go into a milkshake in a Wimpy bar."

Later, at a reception at the stadium, De Klerk was greeted by top sportsmen and sports

Comrades star Bruce- all that sportsmen had said he could not imagine at the "horrific" prospect of the SA cricketers in the would be displaying the "I

De Klerk said the leaders were brushing aside sports

But in fact it would be uplifting the morale of opportunities to the less

Other sportsmen present Brian Mitchell, Ali Bacher of support for the "yes" Kerzner and Gary Bailey

At an earlier function Hannes Meiring, De Klerk was endorsed by artists to Nathaniel. Carstens record which he had es-

In typical US presidential style, De Klerk arrived by boat and shoppers in Verwoerdbu

He was greeted by his wife and SA's strongest marriage Sarina Briedenhan sang a port. Black and white soldiers tried to shake his hand and

De Klerk repeated his



## CP not for me, says PW Botha

JOHANNESBURG — Former president P.W. Botha has denied any support for the Conservative Party.

He said in a radio interview he merely happened to agree with the CP on a couple of matters. These are the continued link between the ANC and the SACP, which he sees as a threat, and the concept of self-determination. — Sapa.

(Report by N. Lewis, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb).

NATAL WITNESS

11 MARCH 1992

## FW blames CP for teargassing

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party's "misrepresentations" were to blame for incidents like Monday's teargas attack in the Free State University cafeteria, State President F.W. de Klerk said yesterday.

De Klerk described the incident, in which teargas was thrown at a meeting he was to address, as cowardly and reprehensible.

De Klerk said it didn't help for the CP to distance itself, after the party in a short statement condemned the attack.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee was injured in the resulting stampede and had to be taken to hospital while De Klerk and his wife Marike were forced to flee the cafete-

ria. Coetsee is due to be discharged from the Universitas Hospital in Bloemfontein today. Although originally thought to have broken a rib, Coetsee's ribs are in fact only bruised. Coetsee will return to the UOFS campus today to deliver the first in a series of academic lectures on "Human Rights in the RSA".

The university and Students' Representative Council also strongly condemned the teargassing. The university said it is investigating the incident as a matter of urgency and had noted that a charge of assault had been laid.

Police yesterday denied claims that the

teargas was thrown by them, saying the only security officials present were members of De Klerk's bodyguard and members of the Crime Information Service.

Organisers of De Klerk's campus visit indicated that Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members were responsible and were known to them. A security specialist blamed the incident on the university's lack of control of access to the venue.

Meanwhile political analysts yesterday raised fears that De Klerk's high profile campaigning in a political climate drawn tight as a bow string could make him a target for right-wing assassins. — Sapa.



# ANC, *NATAL WITNESS* Ciskei *11 MARCH 1992* strike *z* a deal

JOHANNESBURG — The Ciskei government will urgently review its National Security Act to enable political parties to hold peaceful public meetings and marches, the Ciskei, ANC and SA Government announced after a trilateral meeting yesterday.

The meeting was held to resolve animosity between the African National Congress and the Ciskei after the ANC decided to launch a destabilisation campaign plan in the homeland.

The Ciskei, QwaQwa and Inkatha Freedom Party on Monday called for the suspension of Codesa proceedings until the ANC

renounced its plans.

At yesterday's meeting the ANC agreed to review its campaign and the Ciskei agreed it would urgently review Article 43 of the National Security Act.

"The Ciskei government undertook to urgently review Article 43 of the National Security Act of Ciskei to bring it into line with the provisions of Section 46 of the South African Internal Security Act and the provisions of Clause 2.5 of the National Peace Accord, among other things enabling every party in the area to hold peaceful public meetings and marches," according to a joint statement issued by the three parties.

"The ANC agreed to review its campaign in the light of the spirit of the discussions and the agreements and the undertakings made consistent with the National Peace Accord and the Declaration of Intent of Codesa. The South African Government delegation identified itself fully with the spirit and the conclusions of the meeting. All parties reconfirmed their commitment to Codesa."

It was also agreed that further meetings will take place between the ANC and the Ciskei government to discuss: co-operation within the Border region to promote peace and stability; the peaceful resolution of disputes; freedom of political expression, and the headman system. — Sapa.



Threat of more revenge attacks over 'Nazi' label

# Extremists warn FW

Political Reporter  
and Sapa

White extremists warned today that President de Klerk should expect a repeat of a teargas attack against him by right-wing whites if he carried on likening their movement to Hitler's Nazis.

"Mr de Klerk must expect this reaction. He is reaping the whirlwind he has been

sowing," said Piet Endolph, spokesman for the Afdeling Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

He denied the AWB was responsible for the attack last night but added in a telephone interview: "It cannot refer to the AWB as Nazis and fascists without expecting some revenge."

AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche today said he could understand the frustration of people throwing teargas canisters into a university cafeteria where Mr

de Klerk was preparing to speak last night.

Action is being considered by the University of the Free State against students who throw the canister.

Mr de Klerk and his wife, Marike, were rushed to safety by bodyguards.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee was slightly injured in the incident and is expected to be discharged from hospital today.

A spokesman said it was not true Mr Coetsee's ribs

had been cracked when he was crushed as students stampeded out of the cafeteria to avoid the teargas.

Mr TerreBlanche said today he was unaware of the incident and could therefore not confirm or deny that members of his organisation were responsible for throwing the canister.

He said he had predicted increasing bitterness by rightwingers in the run-up to the referendum because of the "unreasonable" way Mr

de Klerk had called the referendum and the short time available for campaigning.

University rector Ceeso Boonstra said today: "We regret this type of incident, particularly as we believe a university campus should be a place where we can think responsibly and consider problems rationally."

Mrs de Klerk was clearly shocked by the incident but Mr de Klerk, who received encouraging notes from students as he was escorted to

his car, gave a "thumbs-up".

He was to have addressed the UOFS students at the last stop of his referendum tour of the Free State, but was persistently shouted down by rightwingers.

One of the organisers said he believed the teargas was thrown by a right-wing student to force Mr de Klerk to leave.

The cafeteria was packed

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## 'FW can expect more teargas attacks'

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with students. Several hundred stood outside. Mr de Klerk arrived at about 9.10pm to cheers and boos.

A large group to the right of the makeshift stage began to yell: "Ka-Pec, Ka-Pec". They then sang "Robbeëen klan die berg".

As the master of ceremonies started to welcome Mr de Klerk the rightwingers shouted: "Nee, nte, nte," and lifted "Noo" signs.

There were a few "Yes, yes,

yes" shouts, but the "no" mob out-relied them with "Huis toe, huis toe, verrader, verrader" (go home traitor).

About 30 minutes after the presidential couple arrived, the teargas was thrown and they were rushed out.

Earlier in the evening, Mr de Klerk addressed 1200 supporters in the Bloemfontein City Hall.

He said the Conservative Party should take a stand against the fascists and Nazis in its ally, the AWB.

He said the NP was sick of being accused of espousing communism while negotiating a constitution that was its very antithesis.

"I say let us fight communism but let us also fight fascism and Nazism — and I challenge the CP to take a firm stand on this."

His campaign moved to Kimberley today. — Sapa.

(Report by Walter Wrough, 47 Sayer Street, Johannesburg, and David Rhodes, 55 Mulholland St. Bloemfontein).

● More reports —  
Pages 2 and 19



B-Day 11/3/92

# Nothing worse than ANC

YOUR editorial of March 4 certainly needs repudiation — especially because of the title Treurnicht's Big Lie and the loaded phrases within.

Let me state at the outset that never in the history of this country has a so-called free Press been so obsessed with blanketing SA's voters with its point of view. The orchestrated "yes" campaign from the media, big business and overseas "experts" is unprecedented, and my experience is that it is creating a serious backlash among the voters, a reaction which will manifest itself on March 17.

Voters are asking: why the frenzy? What's in it for them? Why are they all saying the same things? And why don't overseas governments mind their own business?

Frankly, the CP is a little tired of repudiating the accusations that it is racist and retrogressive. The hysteria which creeps between the lines of certain editorials and "impartial" reporting about the CP is indicative of the ill-concealed desperation of the liberals who see their "yes" landslide disappearing as more and more

voters recoil from a future under a Mandela regime.

Furthermore, your relentless advocacy of ANC rule puts a question mark over your credibility with many heretofore liberal voters who are simply not prepared to live in a Third World country, and wonder why you are obsessed with promoting it.

It would, I believe, be an exercise in futility for me to refute, paragraph by paragraph, your diatribe against me and the CP. We are used to phrases like "dire consequences", "blatantly racist" and "Treurnicht and his henchmen".

I would, however, like to rebut your assertion that this country's "real" black leaders are not prepared to talk to the CP.

If you define Nelson Mandela as a "real" black leader, that is of course your prerogative, although I do not

## ANDRIES TREURNICHT

know how you can prove this because he has not proved it himself.

The CP has had discussions with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelez, with President Lucas Mangope, with Bishop Abel Mokoena (whose church has more than 4-million members) and other black leaders, none of whom are prepared to accept an ANC dictatorship over their people.

And after all is said and done, the March 17 referendum is about this: ANC rule and all its awesome ramifications.

Despite the one-sided barrage of "yes" vote propaganda and advertising despite the not so thinly veiled threats from Zach de Beer about "hockades" while Sir Geoffrey Hivwo said in 1988 that a blockade of

SA would never work), despite some big companies' intimidation of employees to vote "yes", despite all this, the bottom line is whether white SA is prepared to live under an ANC dictatorship.

This is the decision which white voters will have to make on March 17, no matter what guarantees are given about minority rights, independent judiciaries and, best of all, a "nonracial" new SA.

For ourselves, we in the CP have no intention of becoming victims of F W de Klerk's sellout to an ANC government because, frankly, nothing could be worse.

A "no" vote is a vote for an election, a chance to examine the policies of the participating political parties. A "yes" vote gives De Klerk carte blanche to proceed towards his goal of an ANC government in this country.



B. Day 11/3/92

ANC to tone down campaign

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JIM COHEN

Act, which restricts political gatherings, to bring it into line with Section 40 of the SA Internal Security Act and provisions of the peace accord. This would allow all parties to hold peaceful public meetings and marches in the region, the statement said.

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ANC NEC member Thabo Mbeki said it had not yet been decided exactly which aspects of the ANC's Ciskei campaign would be reviewed, as this required discussions with members of the ANC's Border region. Mbeki said the discussions would result in the Ciskei government withdrawing its call for a suspension of Codesa, and encouraging parties that supported the call to do the same.

Meanwhile, Codesa management committee member Pravin Gordhan said yesterday discussions on suggested amendments to the Codesa declaration of intent had made "very encouraging progress" and were all but completed.

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## Ciskei

statement to the declaration of intent. The statement would make changes to the declaration unnecessary, but would clarify the meaning of phrases, some of which were fiercely resisted by Inkatha.

In particular, the declaration's statement that SA should be a unitary state would be clarified so it was clear this did not militate against the principle of re-

gional government.

The agreement deals with all but one of Inkatha's objections to signing the declaration: the non-participation of the Zulu king.

Gordhan said a process was in place to deal with traditional leaders' participation, which should resolve the issue.

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The Citizen

11/3/92

# Eight more die in unrest

By Sapa and Cobus Oosthuizen

GUNMEN stormed a satellite police station

near Vereeniging yesterday and killed a lone police officer while seven other people were slain elsewhere in townships and on trains near Johannesburg.

Assassins killed an ANC activist in Sharpeville yesterday and dumped his body at his grandparents' home, police confirmed.

ANC regional spokesman Ronnie Mamogera said the victim, Mr Dotsi Nkopodi Motlatsi, was a key witness in the killing of another ANC activist allegedly shot dead by a police officer last week.

A note denouncing Mr Motlatsi as a "sellout" and bearing the alleged name of the police officer who shot dead ANC member Mr Montsoebi Molebatsi was found on his body.

At Orange Farm satellite police station, five gunmen burst into a makeshift office at 6.45 am and gunned down Const J J Chandza. He died instantly.

Police spokesman Capt Piet van Deventer said five men were later arrested in connection with the killing and were in custody.

Three people were stabbed to death and at least 16 injured during attacks on commuters on Soweto trains yesterday morning.

Soweto police liaison officer, Colonel Tienie Halgryn, said the body of a man was found with stabwounds at the Mlamlekweni Station in Orlando at about 5.30 am.

Shortly later a group of people boarded a Johannesburg-bound train at Ikweni station, Mofolo North, and attacked com-

muters with sharp instruments.

One person was stabbed to death and nine injured. The body was removed and the injured disembarked at Dube Station. They were admitted to the Baragwanath Hospital. Names were not released.

When the train arrived at Park Station, Johannesburg, at about 6.05 am, police found the body of a man, Mr Vikiindula Dlamini, who had been stabbed to death, on board.

Three commuters, Mr Simile Ntshale, Mr Sigeo Kogocko and Mrs Magelena Khulu, were injured.

They alleged that they were attacked on the train from Soweto and were admitted to the Hillbrow Hospital with head, eye and back injuries.

No arrests have been made and no further attacks on commuters were reported. Trains were travelling normally between Soweto and Johannesburg during the day.

In reaction to the train attack, the head of the Inkatha Institute's Violence Study Unit, Mr Kim Hodgson, said it had allegedly been directed mainly against Zulu-speaking commuters.

He said police had earlier disarmed hostel residents of their knobkerries at the Mafaf Station. However, according to eyewitnesses, a group of Xhosa-speaking men, armed with AK-47 rifles, shotguns, pangas and axes, were allegedly allowed to board the train at Ikweni Station.

"These Xhosa-speaking men then allegedly proceeded to hack and shoot commuters in a predominantly Zulu-speak-

ing coach," said Mr Hodgson.

He added that hostel dwellers had slammed the police for allegedly limiting their searches to only those stations in the vicinity of hostels, whilst armed groups appeared to be able to board trains at unmanned stations with total impunity.

Mr Hodgson called on police to deploy extra manpower and conduct thorough searches at all Reef stations in future in order to avoid being seen as biased against hostel dwellers.

Meanwhile, the bloodletting continued in strife-torn Alexandra, where, according to police two more people were reported killed yesterday. This takes the official death toll in four days of bitter feuding there to nine.

A man was knifed and shot dead near the Alexandra clinic and another was stabbed to death elsewhere in the seething township.

In earlier reports, police said seven people were killed in scattered violence that followed a bloody ambush on a funeral procession of IFP supporters on Saturday.

ANC Alexandra leader Obed Bapela said at least 12 families had been driven out of their homes and had sought shelter at the ANC office. Six students tearing to return to their homes had also been given sanctuary.

As tension mounted in Alexandra yesterday, a delegation of ANC activists was meeting police to request stepped-up patrols, Mr Bapela said.

There has been no indication the leaders of the feuding groups are preparing to meet to restore peace in one of the most volatile townships.



## THE CITIZEN COMMENT

### Simmer down

THE tossing of teargas into a cafeteria at the University of the Orange Free State in Bloemfontein during a visit by State President De Klerk is deplorable.

Mr De Klerk and his wife had to leave the cafeteria and the university.

Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee, the leader of the NP in the OFS, suffered a bruised rib and minor bruising to his hand.

Tossing teargas and egg bombs into the cafeteria was not a student prank — and could never be considered as such.

It was a deliberate attempt to disrupt the occasion and to get at Mr De Klerk.

When that failed, according to a student leader, the Right-wingers teargassed bystanders.

In the rush to get out of the hall, some of the students crushed Mr Coetsee against a door.

Mr De Klerk is the leader of the National Party and, as such, he can expect to be treated like any other politician on the campaign trail.

Nevertheless, when Mr De Klerk visits a university, particularly an Afrikaans one, we believe that he should be treated with the respect that is due to him as State President, and with the tolerance that should be part of the fabric of an institution of higher learning.

Instead, we have this outburst of political boorishness.

No doubt the university authorities will take the strongest possible action against those responsible.

As for the Right-wing extremists who threaten similar treatment if Mr De Klerk continues to call them Fascists and Nazis, they should desist from acting in this manner.

If anything can confirm that they are Fascists and Nazis, it is intolerance of the views of others and denial of freedom of speech.

Ventersdorp was not just a tragedy for everyone concerned, but for the nation as well, since it was a supreme example of how Whites can be at each other's throats because of political differences.

Bloemfontein was another blot on this country's good name.

Some Right-wingers may say that Mr De Klerk has set the stage for a violent reaction because of the nature of the referendum and his unyielding attitude on reform.

We do not accept that, either.

The referendum, in fact, is an opportunity for the Right to demonstrate, if it can, that Mr De Klerk's reform process is rejected by the majority of White South Africans.

Placing a cross for Yes or No is a democratic way of resolving the issue.

Violence has no place in the referendum.

Finally, there is the question of the State President's safety.

We welcomed the fact that Mr De Klerk is meeting the people in an American-style campaign in which he chats to students, farmers, senior citizens and other folk, shakes hands with them and hugs children, and generally shows that he is a caring person.

However, there is always the danger, in the present highly charged atmosphere, that some crank may attack Mr De Klerk or even try to kill him.

Assassinations of leaders are not unknown either here or in the United States, where such walkabouts are commonplace.

Mr De Klerk no doubt is well guarded, but it is not easy to ensure his safety when he mixes freely with people who come to see him or shake his hand.

The incident at the university will not deter him from completing his schedule of visits, but it would be advisable that extra care is taken to prevent any further incidents like that at the university — or worse.

Meanwhile, we appeal to all sides to stop the hysteria that has entered the referendum campaign.

We know it is a very serious matter, since the future of the country is at stake, but let calm and reason prevail.

Which is why we say to everyone: For Heaven's sake, simmer down.



The Citizen 11/3/92

# Transitional govt a recipe for conflict

## — Treurnicht

THE transitional government as agreed upon at Codesa is a recipe for conflict, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht told about 1 500 supporters gathered in Germiston City Hall last night.

"We shall engage in struggle to ensure that we, as a White nation, are not dominated by Communists or terrorists," he said to thunderous applause.

"There will never be peaceful domination of a

Black Communist government over a White nation. We want to govern our own country, our own people."

The ANC and other organisations that had threatened a bloodbath if the No vote won in the March 17 White referendum, did not know the potential for resistance among the Whites.

"Do they (the ANC) think they have power

and weapons on their side."

Dr Treurnicht said that the time for domination of one race over another was past.

"The time of White domination over the Black nations is past. The domination of Black over White will never happen."

The time for a unitary state of different peoples was also past, he said.

Dr Treurnicht said the government's agreement at Codesa to a transitional government was effectively a means of voting themselves out of power.

"Mr De Klerk has reconciled himself to the idea of leaving the public scene. He will no longer be the leader of a White Cabinet."

The National Party strategy of using the reimposition of sanctions as a reason to vote Yes in the referendum was a form of blackmail and intimidation.

"It is nonsense to say that a No vote will lead to total international isolation."

He said he agreed with Citizen newspaper editor Mr Johnny Johnson whom he quoted as saying in an editorial on March 7 that South Africa did not need or want intervention from foreign governments.

"Keep out of our affairs," agreed Dr Treurnicht.

He also agreed with former State President Mr P W Botha's stated reasons for voting No.

Mr Botha had said that he supported self determination and Codesa was the "wrong way of doing things".

"Mr P W Botha and I may have had our differences in the past but with these sentiments I agree 100 percent."

Dr Treurnicht also wooed English speaking voters attending the Germiston meeting. He said English speakers had founded the CP and it was not a party that was against anyone.

"We are not against anyone but are for our own people." — Sapa.

B. Day 11/3/92

### ANC set aside R145 550 for destabilising Ciskei

Political Staff

PORT ELIZABETH — The ANC had a R142 550 budget for a programme aimed at destabilising the Ciskei and "consequently to weaken SA's position at Codesa", according to the agenda of the Border regional general council meeting on February 22.

The campaign was to have been launched yesterday, but the ANC has agreed to review it in the light of discussions with Ciskei and government yesterday.

Included in the budget is R20 000 for transport costs for a people's assembly, R20 000 for salaries for temporary organisers, and R39 000 for advertising, including "sky advertisements".

Included in the "elements of the campaign" are:  
☐ Defiance of all existing Ciskei regulations, and  
☐ Appointment of an interim administration, which will take over the government in a variety of "symbolic ways" such as "occupying government buildings".

Other stated aims on the agenda were to isolate Brig Oupa Gqozo and expose SA's agenda in Ciskei.

The goal also was to establish an interim administration in Ciskei.

The launch yesterday would have involved public signing of demands for the removal of Gqozo. Several meetings and a door-to-door campaign were scheduled for today.

Report by P Cull, 19 Baskerville St, Port Elizabeth.



B. Day 11/3/92

## COMMENT

## Fascist threat

**S**HORTLY before he was tear-gassed in Bloemfontein on Monday night, President de Klerk issued a warning against fascism and Nazism. Our judicial capital provided a timely reminder of the totalitarian danger which lurks behind a "no" vote.

Not that student intolerance is new in this country, on Afrikaans or English-speaking campuses. President de Klerk was denied the right to speak at Free State University, as Nelson Mandela was in Pretoria, Piet Koornhof at Wits and Conor Cruise O'Brien at UCT. The most vicious elements in those other audiences might have used tear-gas, too, had it been available to them; the undemocratic would rather be thorough than gentle.

Behind the teargas lies the instinct of the jackboot. That instinct is strong in the AWB and other militarists in the alliance for a "no" vote; it would become stronger in Andries Treurnicht's supposedly democratic Conservative Party were a majority "no" vote to lead to a CP government. It is not just that Treurnicht espouses policies which he knows from experience must be imposed by force because, however they are dressed up, they are predicated on the denial of rights to others. Treurnicht's base appeal to nationalism, to racial fears and mass emotions at a time of economic hardship is the same appeal which led to the rise of totalitarianism in pre-war Europe.

President de Klerk's warning is valid, although his predecessors re-

sented any comparison between apartheid and Nazism. Hitler's National Socialist Workers' Party soon stopped being socialist; it was nationalist and racist and appealed to fanatics. Mussolini's fascists, too, were anti-democratic and anti-liberal, suppressing individual rights, elevating the party to supreme authority and letting the bully boys take over. The Nazis and the fascists geared for war; here the right wing warns in increasingly straightforward terms of armed rebellion if white rule yields to De Klerk's new democracy.

It is tempting to mock the pot-bellied commandos, the country cavalrymen on their high horses and sometimes off them. The swastika-like insignia are no laughing matter, however. Nor are the guns and the military drills beloved of the right. There are dangerous men out there, a threat to democracy and a threat to peace.

Treurnicht has yet to disown them. They may be in his alliance, but they are not formally in his party; he can ignore their antics when they embarrass traditional folk, but share in the nationalistic fervour, the militaristic pride and the implicit threat to defend white rule to the last khaki-clad hero.

He ignores a threat to himself. If Treurnicht takes the right to victory, he will not lead them for long. Totalitarians want a charismatic leader, a *Führer* or a *duce*. That is what we will get for a disastrous period of racial conflict, if the "no" vote triumphs.



B. Day 11/3/92

## Buthelezi takes a swipe at De Klerk

ULUNDI — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday used the Codesa dispute over the Zulu king's participation to cast a question-mark over his referendum stand.

He turned on President F W de Klerk, saying he no longer felt "comfortable" with him.

"I will go to the very heart of Afrikanerdom and I will campaign until KwaZulu's right to participate in negotiations is recognised," Buthelezi said.

Speaking at the opening of the KwaZulu legislative assembly, he asked who was stopping the President from admitting Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and his delegation to Codesa.

"Who is in charge?" he asked. "Is it Mr de Klerk or the ANC? This will confuse a lot of white voters in the referendum."

Buthelezi enjoys considerable white support, particularly in Natal, and his comments — similar to CP accusations levelled at De Klerk — are bound to sway some referendum voters.

He also said he would keep his constitutional options open and, in what may have been an indication that a future alliance with the CP was not out of the question, said: "I will keep options open as to who I will ally myself with, and I will keep options open about whom I will mobilise and how I shall mobilise them."

Own Correspondent

"But I will not bow to a rejection of KwaZulu and a rejection of His Majesty and become party to a government of our country which is doomed to failure."

He would not leave Codesa but would look at available regional options, picking up where the Buthelezi commissions and the KwaZulu/Natal Inlaba left off.

"We will pursue these options outside Codesa, if we are not tolerated inside Codesa, to weave them harmoniously into other options being tabled," Buthelezi said.

He repeated earlier warnings that KwaZulu would not honour Codesa agreements "which in any way involves KwaZulu while we are not part of deliberations which led to the agreements."

He also disclosed he had met CP leader Andries Treurnicht in Ulundi last Saturday. They also met on January 6.

The negotiation base of Codesa must be broadened. I have said publicly, and I say again, that Codesa will fail unless the CP is a participant in it," he said.

Buthelezi said he would lay foundations now for the rejection of a government which was not a government of national unity and which was not brought into being by a truly representative constitution-making body.

Report by P. Lwiza, 18 Gaborone St, Durban.

B. Day 11/3/92

## Witness gunned down in Sharpeville

A KEY witness to the killing of an ANC activist, allegedly by a policeman, 11 days ago was gunned down in the Vaal Triangle township of Sharpeville on Monday night, the ANC said yesterday.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Marnoepe said Dorcas Nkomo Mtsisi's body — on which a note with the words "impimpi/sellout" was pinned — was found outside his grandparents' home.

The note was signed "from Skuta". At the time of his death, Mtsisi had completed an affidavit which he was due to sign today and which implicated a special constable in the killing of ANC Sharpeville

WILSON ZWANE

activist Montoedi Molebatsi, Marnoepe said.

Police spokesman Piet van Deventer confirmed the police found Mtsisi's bullet-riddled body but questioned the authenticity of the note pinned to it.

In another development, the police have denied an allegation by the ANC PWV that an 18-year-old was killed in a police attack on a house in Sharpeville last week.

Police spokesman Ray Harrauld said Joshua Motsepe was killed and his mother wounded by unknown gunmen.



57. An 11/03/12  
**Witness to ANC activist's killing found shot**

By Montshiwa Moroke

A key witness to the killing of Sharpeville ANC activist Montoedi Molebatsi, who was allegedly shot on March 1 by a special constable, was murdered on Monday night, an ANC spokesman said yesterday.

The body of Nkopoli Doctor Motsitsi, also an ANC activist, was discovered with shotgun

wounds at about 5.30 am outside his grandmother's home in Sharpeville.

Mr Motsitsi's death brings to four the number of ANC activists killed in the township since March 1, according to the ANC.

Its PWV spokesman, Ronnie Mamoepa, said a note had been found on Mr Motsitsi's body with the words "impimpi, mdlwembe, sellout" (all

of which mean 'sellout'), and signed "from Skuta".

Before his death Mr Motsitsi had completed an affidavit which implicated Special Constable Skuta Marumo in the killing of Mr Molebatsi. The affidavit was due to be signed by him at the ANC's PWV regional office yesterday.

Mr Mamoepa said: "We demand an explanation from the Wits re-

gional commissioner to why the police are dragging their feet in suspending and (arresting) Special Constable Skuta Marumo."

Police spokesman Captain Piet van Deventer said the police had called on the ANC to bring forward evidence it had claimed it had of the constable's part in the killing. The ANC had not done so.

16/1/11



*THE STAR 11.03.92*  
**Ciskei, ANC reach 'peace' agreement**

By Helen Grange  
Pretoria Bureau

The Ciskei government has agreed to urgently review its security legislation to enable peaceful public meetings and marches — following a meeting yesterday between Ciskei leaders, the ANC and the Government in Pretoria.

In what was termed an "exceptionally productive" meeting, the ANC also agreed to review its campaign to call for the resignation of Ciskei military leader

Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and replace the Ciskei government with an interim government.

Further meetings between the ANC and Ciskei have been planned to discuss co-operation within the Border region to promote peace and stability, the peaceful resolution of disputes, freedom of political expression and the headman system in the homeland.

The breakthrough in relations between the Ciskei government and the ANC is the

culmination of months of bitter disputes between Brigadier Gqozo and the ANC's Border region executive.

In a joint statement yesterday, the three parties said the meeting had taken place in a "spirit of goodwill and willingness to accommodate each other".

Ciskei is to review its National Security Act to enable all parties in the homeland to hold peaceful public meetings and marches.

"The ANC agreed to review its campaign in the

light of the spirit of the discussions and the undertakings made consistent with the National Peace Accord and the Declaration of Intent of Codesa," the statement said.

On Monday, the Ciskei, QwaQwa and the Inkatha Freedom Party called for the suspension of Codesa proceedings until the ANC denounced its plans.

Yesterday's meeting was hosted by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha

**TELSTAR**

Super prize for the adventurous — Page 17.



# Secret force behind the

## slaughter

BRIEFING

STAR 11/03/92

ANYONE who has watched television news with any consistency over the past two years and has been an armchair witness to the horrific scenes of blacks slaughtering blacks in South Africa's townships could be forgiven for reacting with despair at the barbarism of it all, and concluding that it might be best, after all, if the whites carried on running the country.

Undoubtedly an evil spirit does lurk in the hearts of many of those involved in the killings. However, there is also a pattern, a political rationale behind political violence which, since those heady days when Nelson Mandela was released and peace appeared so tantalisingly to beckon, has claimed more than 2 700 township lives.

A four-month investigation I carried out with a BBC team for the "Assignment" documentary series shows it is entirely misguided to view black South Africans as more responsible for violence than whites.

Our programme, entitled "War on Peace", provides evidence that the intelligence sectors of the South African security forces have pursued a strategy over the past two decades deliberately designed to turn blacks violently against blacks.

This strategy is the secret of a State machine all of whose functions have been subordinated to keeping "the communists" of the ANC at bay. While Government policy under FW de Klerk has changed dramatically, the machine is still ticking over and could career dangerously out of control.

In the 1970s, with the ANC largely dormant inside the country, the threat to white South Africa was perceived to lie in the neighbouring countries, where left-wing governments helped the ANC's external military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. The beauty of the system South Africa devised is that it got foreign, black insurgencies to go to war for it, minimising political damage abroad and at home.

Dependent on South African money, training, supplies, weaponry and logistics, Unita — like the Contras in Nicaragua — caused devastation in Angola, Renamo in Mozambique.

On a smaller scale, the "black-on-black" secret came to be applied successfully inside South Africa in the shape of a clandestine security police unit known as the Askaris. The mission

termind here was an officer called Jac Buchner. He interrogated more than 250 captured ANC guerillas, "turned" about 100 of them and created out of them the Askaris, whose main job was to supply intelligence on ANC military activities.

As General Buchner told us with a smirk: "We have a lot to be thankful for in South Africa, for the black community and the black soldiers, the black policemen who were loyal to the Government of South Africa

and brought out the information we needed."

While he insists he has no blood on his hands, what he cannot dispute is that the information his Askaris obtained

was turned ferociously on ANC members inside and outside the country. South African commandos carried out raids on houses where ANC members lived in neighbouring countries, invariably killing women and children in the process, and a hit-squad in the Askari set-up intercepted and killed ANC members as they entered the country.

The man who headed this specialist unit was Eugene de Kock.

The successes of the likes of General Buchner and Lieutenant-Colonel de Kock, ANC leaders admit, obliged the ANC in the mid-1980s to focus its attention more on internal "mass ac-

tion" than on guerilla war.

It was then that the SADF hit on its most brilliant stratagem: To use the Zulu Inkatha movement as it had used Unita and Renamo: to do its dirty work.

The military intelligence link has been spelt out by a former SADF major, Nico Basson, and a former Inkatha Central Committee member, Mbongeni Khumalo, who said he left the organisation last year because he no longer wished to function as an SADF agent. The security

South Africa's security forces killing-machine, the secret

force that lies behind the alarming black-on-black slaughter in the townships, is still ticking over and could career dangerously out of control, claims JOHN CARLIN of The Independent.

police, who work closely with the military, were exposed as Inkatha funders through the Inkathagate scandal in July. Inkathagate did not, however, explicitly point to the police con-

nection in the Zulu-on-Zulu war in which Inkatha has been engaged in Natal against ANC supporters since 1986.

More than 4 000 have died, most between 1987 and 1989, when General Buchner ran the security police in the Maritzburg.

According to a report recently compiled by human rights lawyers, the KwaZulu police — often described as Inkatha's military wing — have been implicated in the killings of 104 non-Inkatha people, most of them in the past two years.

Pointing again to the close collaboration of the South African police and military, Mr Khumalo told the Weekly Mail in January that military intelligence front-companies had trained Inkatha youths, training that extended to the deployment of hit-squads. The figure Mr Khumalo identified as the

most dangerous hit-man was Daluxolo Luthuli, a captured ANC guerilla who passed through the hands of General Buchner.

Security policemen to whom we talked for the programme, but who refused to appear on camera for fear of their lives, have confirmed to us in several conversations in recent weeks that today, 2½ years into Mr de Klerk's "new South Africa reforms", dirty-tricks collusion with Inkatha, the ANC as the target, continues unabated.

One officer told us he knew that the political violence obeyed the dictates of "a central cog" in Pretoria.

We learnt three weeks ago that the security police had launched an internal inquiry to try to weed out the officers who had leaked information for our programme. — The Independent News Service. □



THE STAR 11. 03. 92

# ANC's 'white paper' on referendum

**T**HE ANC's decision to urge whites to vote "yes" in the referendum — made even though the organisation's leaders condemned the ethnic poll — came after much soul-searching and strategic thinking, it emerges from a document in the possession of The Star.

In a discussion paper entitled "Should white democrats vote in the referendum?", produced by the ANC department of political education, the dilemma presented by the snap vote on reform is confronted in detail.

The document urges ANC members to distinguish between overall strategic objectives, and short-term tactics demanded by unusual situations.

Noting that the ANC has white members and a large white constituency "that looks to us for leadership", the discussion paper says that an exclusive focus on the strategic objective — the democratic transfer of power in South Africa — shackles an organisation and closes off tactical options.

Equally, if immediate condi-

**Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON on how the ANC finally decided it had to call on whites to vote "yes" with the National Party.**

tions are considered in isolation, there is a danger that the overall objective might be lost.

In terms of the ANC's core objectives, therefore, members are urged to remember that the chief opponent in South Africa remains President de Klerk's Government, because it still has its hands on the levers of power. Both ANC and National Party are agreed on the need for negotiations, "but we talk with different objectives in mind".

The right wing, of course, is also an enemy, but the thrust of the document is to insist that in reacting to it, ANC members do not forget the primacy of the NP as an opponent.

"How do we characterise the right wing? It is easy to fall into the trap of seeing them as the main enemy and therefore concluding that since we 'must' negotiate with Mr de Klerk, our job is to save him.

"The correct characterisation ... is that the NP remains the main enemy, holding State power. At the same time the right wing is the most serious, immediate danger, in that they threaten the entire process leading to the negotiated transfer of power."

The discussion paper argues that Mr de Klerk called the referendum for three reasons:

- To cut the right wing down to size after Potchefstroom.
- To free himself from his commitment to a white veto.
- To create a sense of insecurity which will panic Mr de Klerk's critics into believing that they must save him because the entire process depends on his survival.

The paper reiterates the organisation's principled objections to the referendum — including the question, which implicitly credits Mr de Klerk with sole re-

sponsibility for launching the negotiations process — but notes that "we cannot content ourselves with condemning a racist referendum."

"The future of this country must be decided by all who should have the right to vote."

"But we face a very concrete question ... A white referendum has been called and it is not impossible, though unlikely, that the white right will win and the process of negotiations will be destroyed."

This reasoning leads to the unequivocal conclusion that "we cannot stand by as spectators". Whites must be urged to vote yes "even if it is painful ..."

"We cannot allow ourselves the luxury and self-indulgence of sitting and carping on the sidelines. If the correct thing is to act in a way that is personally unpleasant — if it is politically necessary, we must do it!"

The document concludes that the referendum has "highlighted the need to move quicker to a test of the opinion of all who live in South Africa ..."

(Report by S Johnson, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)



Wednesday March 11 1992

# De Klerk sets out bottom line on constitutional talks

David Beresford  
in Johannesburg

**S**OUTH AFRICA'S ruling National Party last night released what amounts to its constitutional manifesto, spelling out to the white electorate its minimum demands in future negotiations with the black majority.

The "bottom line" was set out in a joint statement last night by the state president, F. W. de Klerk, and the party's four provincial leaders. Tens of thousands of pamphlets summarising their negotiating position are being distributed nationwide today in an effort to swing wavering voters into casting a "yes" in next week's referendum — to allow Mr De Klerk to continue with the negotiating process.

The pamphlet and the joint statement promise whites among other things:

- Constraints on the powers of future presidents, to ensure that the country will not risk a "black dictator". The statement says this will be done "preferably by sharing this office among the most important leaders as a presidential college". There will also have to be "representation of more than one party in the executive".
- "The supremacy of the constitution instead of the sovereignty of parliament" with a charter of fundamental rights under an independent judiciary.
- Impartial and professional control over the security forces and the enforcement of a provision that the constitution is "the highest authority over the security forces and that the maintenance of the constitution is their most important duty".
- Far-reaching devolution of "real autonomous power" to regional and local government as well to "smaller management units in the form of neighbourhood councils".
- "The entrenchment of the key elements of a market orientated economy in the constitution and [in] the Charter of Fundamental Rights in order to ensure that the economy is based on free enterprise".
- Protection of property rights — "not even the government will be able to take away your car, house, business, pension, savings or whatever," promises the pamphlet.

● A "right" will be written into the constitution "for parents to control their children's schools".

The joint statement and the pamphlet also assure whites that the National Party will insist on the protection of language rights, freedom of religion and "frequent multi-party elections".

The release of the two documents at this time is a shrewd move by Mr De Klerk, because they amount not only to the "mandate" which he is seeking from the white electorate, but also constitute a set of preconditions which black political leaders will have to accept if negotiations are to continue.

Black groupings, including the African National Congress, are likely to be locked into acceptance of these preconditions, because they will be reluctant to protest at this critical stage of South Africa's referendum campaign.

The campaign was marked yesterday by angry reaction to an overnight incident in which President De Klerk was tear gassed at a political meeting and his justice minister, Koble Coetsee, ended up in hospital.

The incident took place at the University of the Orange Free State in Bloemfontein. Right-wing students threw a tear gas canister and in the ensuing ruckus Mr Coetsee suffered a bruised rib. He was discharged from hospital yesterday.

The Conservative Party leadership yesterday expressed its regret at the incident, but Mr De Klerk was quick to seize on it. Accusing the Conservatives of the "cowardly" attack, he said: "When a party reverts to such tactics it is a clear indication of bankruptcy. It doesn't help the Conservative Party to try to distance itself with nice-sounding words..."

The countrywide violence which has accompanied the referendum campaign continued yesterday with the reported assassination of yet another ANC activist on Monday and three more deaths in an attack on commuters travelling on a Soweto train.

● White South Africans in Britain may vote in the referendum on reform today or tomorrow if they hold a valid passport and identity document at the South African embassy in London or the consulate in Glasgow from 9am to 9pm.

*The Guardian*  
11/3/92  
London



The Star 11/3/92

# Years of hardship take their toll

**T**HE 1991 census reveals, in cold statistics, the increasingly bleak scenarios painted by economists and urban planners over the past few turbulent years.

Unemployment figures are alarming, the population spiral is worrying and cities are overburdened with poverty-stricken rural migrants.

The need for foreign investment is that much more real when considering the fact that only 39 percent of the total population was economically active in 1991 — and knowing that 1992 has already seen thousands more industry lay-offs.

Predictably, blacks are most severely affected by unemployment. There were 1 812 000 earning no income last year. Jobless whites numbered 83 000 while 202 000 coloureds and 43 000 Asians were out of work.

The stunting of commerce and industry through international isolation and economic recession has forced people into the informal sector.

More than double the number of blacks and coloureds were

Recent hard times in South Africa have resulted in a great deal of flux and change in the lifestyles of South Africans. This is starkly apparent in the 1991 census released last week by Central Statistical Services.  
**HELEN GRANGE reports.**

self-employed in 1991 compared to 1986, while the figure rose by 67 percent for whites and 96 percent for Asians.

The services sector still remains the most important employer in the country, with one out of every five economically active people involved in it last year. The manufacturing industry and commercial sector followed respectively.

Agriculture, which in 1986 was the third biggest employer, was in 1991 only fourth.

The largest concentration of people was in the Transvaal (6 417 824), but urbanisation was most pronounced in the Cape, where 80 percent of people were living in urban areas compared to 70 percent in 1986.

On a national scale, 17 per-

cent of blacks lived in shacks compared to 3,9 percent in 1986.

The census recorded 49 whites living in shacks in Johannesburg and 89 white shack-dwellers in Krugersdorp.

The population has increased by more than 2,9 million since 1986, standing at 26,28 million on census day (including self-governing territories).

While whites are ageing and having fewer children, blacks are continuing a strong reproductive pattern indicated in the fact that 40 percent were under the age of 20 last year.

But there are signs that the general population growth is slowing. The largest age group in the census was between five and nine, 200 000 more than the group aged five and under.

From 1986 to 1991, the num-

bers of economically active women rose substantially.

Working white women increased from 19 percent to 38 percent, coloured women working increased by half in the same period, while their black counterparts also doubled in the workplace. Asian women fitted the same pattern.

On the education front, there was also progress, even if painfully slow. In 1991 a larger percentage of blacks had degrees, the figure having almost trebled since 1986. For the population as a whole, the proportion of people with a Std 6 or higher increased by 7 percent.

One interesting trend is that of the English language. It is the Asian community, not the white community, which is most responsible for its upkeep. Some 95 percent of Asians spoke English at home. Only 38 percent of whites, 15 percent of coloureds and 0,2 percent of blacks spoke English at home.

Most blacks spoke Zulu (38 percent), followed by Northern Sotho (15 percent) and Xhosa (12 percent).



UTJUNDI. — KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday threatened action if King Goodwill Zwelithini was excluded from the Codesa talks.

He outlined the history of traditional leaders in the liberation of Africa.

Speaking at the opening of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, he said royalty had been involved in the new constitutions of Uganda, Nigeria, Ghana, Lesotho and Zambia.

Chief Buthelezi threatened to mobilise the Zulu

nation against its exclusion from Codesa.

"We will not honour any agreement reached in Codesa about the future which in any way involves KwaZulu while we are not part of the deliberations which led to the agreements.

"I ... will have nothing to do with implementing Codesa decisions which are reached while we are not present to make our

own contribution to debates and emerging decisions."

Mr Buthelezi said the exclusion from Codesa was connected to collusion between the government and the African National Congress.

"What were we supposed to think when we see great enthusiasm being displayed in the banning of the carrying of Zulu regiments, but the

same enthusiasm is not shown in the dismantling or banning Umkhonto we Sizwe," he said, adding he would go to the "very heart of Afrikanerdom" to campaign for the right of the Zulus to be recognised.

"Negotiations must be representative of enough to make the decision of negotiators binding on people."

Mr Buthelezi said he

did not threaten armed struggle or revolutionary violence against any government which is established without Zulu participation.

"I will not be party to a failed constitution and a failed democracy."

In the past all the ills of the people were laid at the door of apartheid but in the future the government and the people in it would be blamed for failure. — Sapa.

## The Citizen 11/3/92

# Buthelezi warns on exclusion of his king



The Citizen 11/3/92

## Winnie co-accused among 41 charged

Court Reporter

500m of a court building.

A TOTAL of 41 demonstrators, including Mrs Xoliswa Falati (33), who was originally a co-accused of Mrs Winnie Mandela in the murder trial of a teenage activist, appeared before Mrs Z Moletsane in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday.

They face allegations of failing to get the necessary permission from the Chief Magistrate to hold a demonstration within

The majority of the accused either wore ANC branch T-shirts or sported ANC colours. However, a few wore SA Communist Party T-shirts.

Most of the accused were allegedly held "in the vicinity" of the Rand Supreme Court on Friday.

The accused, were all ordered to appear in court again on April 14.



The Citizen 11/3/92

# Ciskei will review its Act on political activities

THE Ciskei Government will urgently review its National Security Act to enable political parties to hold peaceful public meetings and marches, the Ciskei, ANC and SA Government announced after a trilateral meeting yesterday.

The meeting was held to resolve animosity between the African National Congress and the Ciskei after the ANC decided to launch a destabi-

lisation campaign plan in the homeland.

## Denounced

The Ciskei, Qwa Qwa and Inkatha Freedom Party on Monday called for the suspension of Codesa proceedings until the ANC denounced its plans.

At yesterday's meeting the ANC agreed to re-

view its campaign, and the Ciskei agreed it would urgently review Article 43 of the National Security Act.

"The Ciskei Government undertook to urgently review Article 43 of the National Security Act of Ciskei to bring it into line with the provisions of Section 46 of the South African Internal Security

Act and the provisions of Clause 2.5 of the National Peace Accord, among other things enabling every party in the area to hold peaceful public meetings and marches," according to a joint statement issued by the three parties.

## Review

The ANC agreed to review its campaign in the light of the spirit of the discussions and the agreements and the undertakings made consistent with the National Peace Accord and the Declaration of Intent of Codesa.

"The South African Government delegation identified itself fully with the spirit and the conclusions of the meeting.

"All parties reconfirmed their commitment to Codesa."

## Urged

It was also agreed that further meetings would take place between the ANC and the Ciskei Government to discuss:

- Co-operation within the Border region to promote peace and stability;
- The peaceful resolution of disputes;
- Freedom of political expression; and
- The headman system.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha hosted the talks. The ANC delegation was led by its secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, and the Ciskei delegation was led by military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

— Sapa.



The Star

11/3/92

## Codesa should approve loans

At the height of Inkathagate 1, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha told all who cared to listen that the Nat government was funding political organisations and stooge unions with the taxpayer's money.

He further revealed that his department had paid more than R100 million to fight Swapo during the Namibian elections. That's after the Government has signed an undertaking to the effect that there would be no outside interference.

How then should the next government be expected to inherit the debts that were incurred and funds abused by the illegitimate apartheid government? Surely during this period of transition overseas loans should be negotiated and secured by a multiparty group such as Codesa where every party and organisation is represented?

Such a move is not only rational but serves as a guarantee to the foreign lenders that agreement on loans enjoys the country's majority support.

Molale Phala

Phahameng Location,  
Bloemfontein

11/3/92



The Star 11/3/92

FW is the one man who can lead SA down the road to democracy, says The Economist

# De Klerk: the great black hope

IS IT Gorbachev or De Gaulle? The parallels between F W de Klerk and those two great reformers who came unstuck seem horribly close. Those who want a peaceful and democratic future for South Africa must hope that appearances deceive, and that Mr de Klerk will turn out to be neither.

It was the collapse of communism in 1989 that persuaded Mr de Klerk to send his country hurtling down the road to reform. The erstwhile rightwinger of one of the world's most right-wing parties became the man who is now doing his best to turn the land of apartheid into a nonracial democracy.

But, while the world applauds his own people, the whites — like Mikhail Gorbachev's Communists when his reforms gathered pace — are apprehensive; some are aghast. After his party's loss of the Poleschtröm by-election, it seems possible that Mr de Klerk, like Mr Gorbachev, will lose control of the beast he has unleashed,

plunging South Africa into chaos. In an effort to see off his opponents and regain control, he has now called a referendum — which conjures up memories of Charles de Gaulle. It was De Gaulle's attempt to reassert his leadership in 1960 by holding a yes-or-no vote on his constitutional reforms that led to the blowing of a big frame-boise and his resignation.

If South Africa's whites follow the example of France's voters in 1960, Mr de Klerk has said he too will resign. That would be bad news for South Africa. It is possible that Mr de Klerk would come back and lead his party to victory in the ensuing general election. It is possible that he would be replaced by another reformer. Still, the likelihood is that, if Mr de Klerk loses the referendum, white politics in South Africa will fall into the hands of mischief-makers trying to turn back the clock, while black politics will become much rougher. More blood will flow.

South Africa has problems in

abundance, but in its two most prominent politicians it is fortunate. Nelson Mandela's 27 years in prison have helped make him the undisputed leader of the ANC without embittering him; under his leadership, the ANC will be a tough but not an intransigent negotiator. Mr de Klerk has already shown his political courage; the unanswered question concerns his political skill.

The chances are that this will not be found wanting. Far, by calling a referendum, and calling it soon, Mr de Klerk is doing what Mr Gorbachev could never bring himself to do: submit his actions to the vote. Admittedly, an all-white referendum in which 80 per cent of the adult population will not cast a ballot will hardly confer full democratic legitimacy on Mr de Klerk. But, as he points out, that is to miss the point. Nobody doubts that the bulk of the non-white majority supports his reforms. Opinion polls have suggested that more than 80 per cent of

urban blacks are satisfied with Mr de Klerk's leadership; some have even shown him to be more popular among blacks than Mr Mandela, by a margin of up to 20 per cent.

But will Mr de Klerk have the come-uppance from the white Right and thus suffer the fate of De Gaulle? This is certainly the risk. Many whites are frightened. Violence is rife. Some 2 600 people died in political disputes last year, and about half as many again were murdered by ordinary criminals. Meanwhile the economy, after contracting for two years, is not to grow only slowly. The course on which Mr de Klerk has set the country will lead to the ending of many white privileges, fewer subsidies for whites, and probably a fall in their living standards. No wonder they are nervous.

They will be nervous, however, whatever course they take. One merit of Mr de Klerk's decision to hold the referendum early is that

it obliges his white opponents, notably the Conservative Party led by Dr Andries Treurnicht, to explain the alternative to reform. At present they are split. They have said they want self-determination for whites, meaning an Afrikaner homeland. But even extreme Conservatives admit there can be no going back to grand apartheid, and that there will have to be negotiations with the black majority.

The choice therefore becomes one of negotiations carried out by Dr Treurnicht. One is an adroit politician who can manifestly do business with the black majority and thus bring South Africa back into the world, ensuring an end to sanctions and the return of foreign diplomats, entertainers and sportsmen. The other is a wooden reactionary who can offer only constitutional fantasies, the certainty of greater violence and the continuation of South Africa's painful isolation.

It is the starkness of this choice

that will, with luck, save Mr de Klerk from the fate of De Gaulle. De Gaulle was rejected because the French reckoned they could manage without him. Only the wilfully obtuse could believe the same of Mr de Klerk. The wilfully obtuse are not an extinct breed in South Africa, but nor are they the majority, even among whites. These are as it seems, the white Right is not all bad for Mr de Klerk, since the loss of Poleschtröm the ANC has rapidly given ground in Ciskei. Plenty of obstacles still lie ahead, including the question of regional autonomy. This will not die with the referendum because right-wing Afrikaners are not the only group interested in going it alone, some blacks want to as well. In any event, Mr Mandela and his colleagues know that Mr de Klerk is the one man who can lead South Africa peacefully down the road to majority rule. He is the best white choice. He is also the best choice for the black majority.



The Star

11/3/92

## Massacre accused tells of 'disturbing' interrogation

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — Whenever he tried to tell the truth about what happened at Trust Feed on the night of the massacre of 11 people, a police officer interrogating him interrupted and told him he was lying, former special constable Thabo Sikhosana told the Supreme Court in Maritzburg yesterday.

Mr. Sikhosana, one of seven policemen appearing before Mr Justice Wilson and two assessors on 11 counts of murder and eight of attempted murder arising out of the massacre, was giving evidence in his defence.

He told the court that because of the interrogation by the officer, a Colonel Langenhoven, he was disturbed, and as a result a statement he later made to a magistrate contained untruths.

The statement was handed in to court as evidence yesterday after Mr Justice Wilson ruled that it was admissible.

Mr Sikhosana — who has told the court he took part with other special policemen in the attack on the Trust Feed house in which 11 people died on December 3 1988 after being told there were terrorists inside —

was questioned about the statement which is in conflict with his evidence in chief.

Cross-examined by Francois van Zyl, counsel for one of the other accused, Captain Jacobus van den Heever, Mr Sikhosana said he had told untruths to the magistrate because he had been "disturbed" as a result of the prior interrogation by Colonel Langenhoven.

When interrogated by Colonel Langenhoven he had attempted to outline what had happened at Trust Feed, but the colonel kept interrupting him and telling he was lying.

He said Colonel Langenhoven became angry when he (Mr Sikhosana) said Captain Brian Mitchell, the local station commander — also one of the accused — had been with the special policemen when they went to the house. He had said that was a lie.

Appearing before Mr Justice Wilson are Captain van den Heever, Captain Mitchell, Sergeant Neville Rose, Special Sergeant Dumisane Ndwalane, and Special Constables Kehla Ngubane, Marshall Khambule and Mr Sikhosana. They have all pleaded not guilty.

The trial continues.



The Star 11/3/92

## PW Botha: I do not support CP

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

Former State President P.W. Botha does not support the Conservative Party or the Herstigte Nasionale Party, he said.

He said yesterday when interviewed on Radio 702 he would have betrayed himself if he voted "yes" in the referendum.

And he would have been a "coward" if he abstained from voting. Mr Botha decided to vote "no" because of his statements years ago that he would not negotiate with organisations which had communist links or with organisations which have not ended the armed struggle.

Mr Botha said he was "dissatisfied with the whole situation". He believed in reform which brought about change but it should be based on what was "good and beautiful" in the past.

He disclosed that he had met a member of the HNP shortly before the announcement of the referendum but would not identify him. He last saw CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht more than a year ago and then Mr Botha disagreed with him on the manner in which he split from the National Party.

He said he stood on the side of "my own people" and respected other people and their right to self-determination.

Asked about the possibility of civil war in the country, Mr Botha said if the Marxists started the war, it would have to be dealt with.

(Report by E Waugh, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)



The Star

11/3/92

## Principal condemns SRC 'fabrication'

Staff Reporter

University of the Witwatersrand vice-chancellor and principal, Professor R W Charlton, has lashed out at a campaign by the Wits Student Representative Council to "improve the standard of teaching and learning at the university" and to address the high drop-out rate at Wits.

In a statement yesterday, Professor Charlton criticised the SRC for having claimed that student victories had been won by class boycotts and sit-ins.

"That is a dangerous fabrication," he said.

The SRC announced last week that the high failure rate at Wits was indicative of "the university's failure to fulfil its role as an institution of learning for all South Africans". Demands were made for joint student-faculty policy committees with the aim of improving teaching and learning.

Professor Charlton said the Wits Senate had, at the end of last year, adopted 52 recommendations to investigate the poor academic performance of some students and what the university could do to improve it. Decisions to set up



Professor Charlton ... Wits vice-chancellor and principal.

teaching and learning committees, to evaluate and train teaching staff, had been, or were being, implemented, he said.

Reacting to a demand that a review committee be established to consider the cases of all students who have been excluded this year, Professor Charlton said this had already been rejected by the University Council last month.

This year, 135 out of 14 565 applicants were refused entry and there was no justification for further review.

"The only result of last year's 'class boycott' and sit-in was disruption of the university for four days and disciplinary action against a number of students," he said.



The Star 11/3/92

# Bloodshed continues on trains

Political killings continued unabated today in spite of an urgent meeting called yesterday to seek ways to end the bloodshed.

Rail commuters in Johannesburg today pursued and then killed a man who allegedly took part in a train attack.

A Witwatersrand police spokesman said that shortly before the train stopped at Longdale Station at 7 am, unknown assailants opened fire and also ran amok with knives.

One man was shot dead and six other passengers suffered stab and gunshot wounds.

The attackers then fled as the train stopped at Longdale Station, the spokesman said. A policeman on the platform arrested a man who had allegedly taken part in the attack.

"Commuters on the train then chased another of the alleged attackers. At 32 Springbok Street, Industria, they caught up with him and stabbed him. He died as a result of his injuries," said the police spokesman.

The commuters then fled.

At least 43 people have died in nationwide violence over the past three days.

● At 7.05 am yesterday, at Langlaagte Station, the bodies of two men who had been shot were found next to the line.

Another man died when he was tossed from a moving train near the same station.

● A 38-year-old Soweto man, Anthony Jacobs of Central West Jabavu, was stabbed in the back and seriously injured when he was attacked by a group of men on a train at Inhlanzani station yesterday morning.

● Four people were killed in Alexandra township yesterday.

● At Johannesburg station, police found the body of another man. He and three other people were stabbed.

● Also yesterday, two people died and 13 others were injured as a group attacked commuters on a train between Ikwezi and Dube stations in Soweto.

Soweto police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn said the attack occurred at about 5.30 am after the assailants had boarded the train at Ikwezi station.

Several of the injured were thrown from the train or jumped from it while it was moving.

While the head of the Inkatha Institute's violence study unit, Kim Hodgson, accused the police of allowing ANC supporters to attack unarmed IFP supporters, the ANC spokesman in the PWV, Ronnie Mamoepa, claimed police were not present to stop IFP supporters attacking members of the public.

Colonel Halgryn denied the police took sides.

The Wits Vaal Regional Dispute Resolution Committee met yesterday in Auckland Park to discuss the setting up of local dispute resolution committees in the PWV and to address the issue of violence in Alexandra and Sharpeville.

The meeting, attended by representatives of the ANC, IFP, SAP, SADF, Democratic Party, National Party, Sacob and Fabcos (Federation of African Business and Consumer Services), continued today. — Staff Reporters, West Rand Bureau.



The Star 11/3/92

## What Schwarz said on US TV

By Hugh Robertson  
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The actual words used on American television last week by South Africa's ambassador to the United States, Harry Schwarz, about the possibility of a black president coming to power, provide a very different version from the one which Conservative Party spokesmen are presenting.

This is a transcript of the interview:

Interviewer: The big question for ambassador Schwarz: Sir, will there be, in this century, a black president of South Africa?

Mr Schwarz: I have very little doubt there will be, yes.

Mr Novak: ... When will that be do you think?

Mr Schwarz: ... I think it'll come much sooner than most people believe, and I think it'll be within a couple of years.

Mr Evans: Would you say ...

Mr Schwarz: Two to three years.

Mr Novak: Won't that terrify whites ...

Mr Schwarz: Let me



Harry Schwarz ...  
asked to guess.

tell you that I'm not concerned about the colour of the president. I'm concerned about his political philosophy, whether he's got the right ideas.

Mr Novak: Aren't there many white South Africans who will be concerned about that? (A black president).

Mr Schwarz: There will be some who will be concerned, but I think that ... President de Klerk will accept it ...

Mr Evans: Mr ambassador, would it be by nature Nelson Mandela?

Mr Schwarz: If we look at the opinion polls at the moment, obviously the choice would probably be Mr Mandela.

(Report by H Robertson, 3426 Reservoir Rd NW, Washington DC)



# The Star

Established 1887

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## The Right's chill wind

A COLD shiver has gone around the country in the last few days. It is dawning on people that a "no" vote — or, at least, an equivocal "yes" vote — is no longer a possibility that can be discounted. The mean-spirited, negative, dishonest referendum campaign of the Conservatives and their fair-weather friends is having its effect on those who have not properly thought through its implications.

In this chilling context it is gratifying that Nelson Mandela should have chosen to deliver a considered, calming message to the white electorate. Unlike Cosatu with its plans for "mass action" immediately after the poll, the ANC has wisely kept a low profile in the white fight thus far. But Mr Mandela has nevertheless been made a key issue in the campaign and therefore needed to say something.

An effective rightist tactic has been to create a perception in the (white) public mind that a vote for reform is, ipso facto, a vote for Mr Mandela, and that a vote for him is thus a vote for communist tyranny with a black face.

The ANC leader's assurances that his organisation has no intention of summarily dismissing public servants and that it does not share Robert Mngabe's passion for the nationalisation of farming land are thus of vital importance — if only whites will stop to listen. The form a new government will take has not yet been decided — let alone the final policies of each party which might find a place in it.

The simple fact is that Mr de Klerk's courage resides in his recognition that without the inclusion of the ANC and other extra-parliamentary groups in the country's administration, South Africa can know no peace. Whites must not be afraid of the ANC's involvement — it is its continued exclusion that would have terrifying consequences.

A satisfactory compromise between the majority and the minorities is the only solution for South Africa. Mr de Klerk is playing a role in achieving that; Dr Treurnicht is not, and cannot.

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## Mandela's pledge on job security hailed

Political Staff

The public sector yesterday welcomed ANC assurances of job and pensions security for public servants, and urged political leaders to guarantee these pledges by entrenching them in the new constitution.

"The moment they do that, peace and calm will return to the public service," Public Servants Association general manager Hans Olivier said yesterday.

Roger Burrows, DP spokesman on the public service, said there was no doubt Codesa would have to address the composition and fears of the existing service.

Mr Burrows and Mr Olivier were reacting to remarks by Nelson Mandela who this week described white fears of nonracial government as "genuine and understandable". Mr Mandela said many public servants and security force

members thought they would lose their jobs.

"This is totally false," he said. "We have no such intention. I don't think a new government would last very long if it just dismissed people."

"Everybody will be secure under a democratic government."

Democratisation would be humane. "If an official is, say 50 years old and he normally retires at age 60, we would pay him out all his benefits and pension as if he had worked till retirement age."

Mr Olivier welcomed the assurances.

"They touched the true fear among public servants. What we would like to see, however, is a written agreement drafted at Codesa and signed by all participants confirming these attitudes."

Mr Burrows hailed Mr Mandela's view that the ANC would not radically alter the public service.



The Star

11/3/92

## Ciskei and ANC shake hands and look to the future

By Helen Grange  
Pretoria Bureau

The Ciskei government has agreed to urgently review its security legislation to enable peaceful public meetings and marches — following a meeting yesterday between Ciskei leaders, the ANC and the Government in Pretoria.

In what was termed an "exceptionally productive" meeting, the ANC also agreed to review its campaign to call for the resignation of Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and replace the Ciskei government with an interim government.

### Disputes

Further meetings between the ANC and Ciskei have been planned to discuss co-operation within the Border region to promote peace and stability, the peaceful resolution of disputes, freedom of political expression and the headman system in the homeland.

The breakthrough in relations between the Ciskei government and the ANC is the culmination of months of bitter disputes between Brigadier Gqozo and the ANC's Border region ex-

ecutive. Scores of ANC activists have been arrested in the homeland for participating in mass protest action over the past year.

In a joint statement yesterday, the three parties said the meeting had taken place in a "spirit of goodwill and willingness to accommodate each other".

Ciskei is to review its National Security Act to enable all parties in the homeland to hold peaceful public meetings and marches.

"The ANC agreed to review its campaign in the light of the spirit of the discussions and the undertakings made consistent with the National Peace Accord and the Declaration of Intent of Codesa," the statement said.

All parties reconfirmed their commitment to Codesa, it added.

On Monday, the Ciskei, QwaQwa and the Inkatha Freedom Party called for the suspension of Codesa proceedings until the ANC denounced its plans.

Yesterday's meeting was hosted by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and attended by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Brigadier Gqozo.



B. Day 11/3/92

## No detentions without trial

SA's detention without trial legislation appears to be falling into disuse.

Yesterday, not a single person was being detained without trial in either SA or the adjoining territories, Human Rights Commission (HRC) spokesman Eric Pelser said yesterday.

He said that as far as the HRC monitors knew, the last people to be detained were five people in the Ciskei who had since been released. Before that, three members of the PAC's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, were being held under Sec-

### PATRICK BULGER

tion 29 of the Internal Security Act for attacks on police installations. Two of them had since been charged under the Terrorism Act, Pelser said.

Police spokesman Lt Nina Barkhuizen confirmed yesterday that nobody was being held.

She said it was becoming relatively common to have nobody held in detention. She added that apart from the PAC members held, the last detainees had been right wingers suspected of terrorist activities.



# The Star - 11/3/92

## snake hands and look to the future

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B. Day 11/3/92

## ANC women take aim at Defence Force

TIM COHEN

THE ANC Women's League has taken up arms — in a manner of speaking — in an attempt to ensure that a future Defence Force is as much the preserve of women as it is of men.

The league wants a non-sexist SA army which would rely on volunteers but would actively recruit women.

Its proposal forms part of a league submission to Codesa which suggests a gender commission be established to attend to sexism, and calls for a women's charter which would help women exercise their rights, to be included in a new constitution.

At a news conference yesterday, league leaders brushed aside suggestions that women would be insulated to the rigours of military training.

The ANC experience when training Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres was that women performed as well as men, former MK member and league financial manager Thandi Modise said.

The single, unified defence force should be committed to the principles of non-racialism, non-sexism, democracy and

national unity, she said.

Women should be included in debates on the formation and principles of this new defence force, and attention should be paid to the eradication of discrimination against women in training, deployment, command structures and combat roles.

The submission also calls for introduction of a code of conduct to ensure the police force deals with alleged police violence against and sexual harassment of women, and proposes an independent media commission to "end all forms" of degrading portrayals of women.